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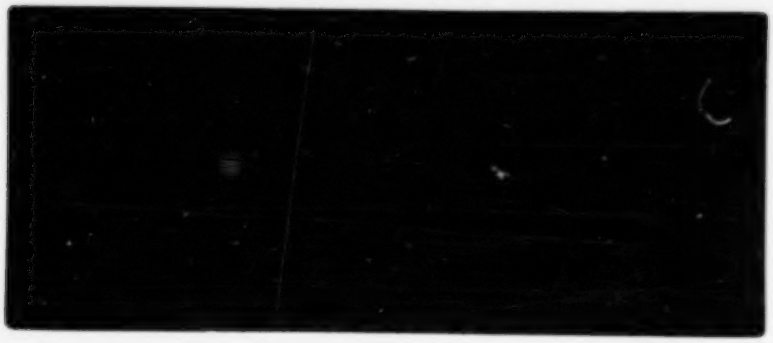

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PAPER NO. 6

The Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation: An Organizational Framework for Revitalization?

by

Peter R. Sinclair

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RÉSUMÉ

Le Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation (GNPDC), qui existe depuis 1987, est un organisme innovateur qui tente d'appliquer la notion de société de développement communautaire aux problèmes socio-économiques d'une région peu peuplée. La présente étude brosse un tableau des origines de la GNPDC et décrit ses premières initiatives de développement, mais elle ne saurait en présenter une évaluation complète parce qu'il est encore beaucoup trop tôt pour le faire.

LE CONTEXTE

La grande péninsule septentrionale compte moins de 26 000 habitants. Les hivers sont longs et les étés sont frais. La pêche est l'industrie la plus importante. Dans l'ensemble, il s'agit d'une des régions les moins privilégiées de Terre-Neuve, qui est elle-même défavorisée en comparaison du reste du Canada. On y retrouve les indices habituels de la marginalité : faibles revenus, dépendance élevée envers les prestations de bien-être et d'assurance-chômage, marché du travail stagnant, bas niveaux d'instruction, départ des jeunes en quête de travail, et accès réduit aux services sociaux.

LES ANTÉCÉDENTS DE L'ACTION COLLECTIVE

La population de la région tente depuis longtemps d'agir collectivement en vue d'améliorer ses conditions. Au début des années 20, des coopératives de commercialisation et de consommateurs jouaient déjà un rôle important dans le nord de la péninsule. Le Sud a vu l'apparition d'un grand nombre de coopératives de commercialisation du homard entre 1938 et 1961. La grande péninsule septentrionale est également le lieu de naissance du syndicat terre-neuvien des pêcheurs, des travailleurs de l'alimentation et des travailleurs assimilés. En outre, la première association de développement rural de Terre-Neuve a été fondée dans cette région en 1967. (La péninsule compte maintenant six associations de ce genre.) Ces antécédents au plan des projets coopératifs aident à expliquer comment la GNPDC a vu le jour.

CRÉATION DE LA GNPDC

Déçues de l'incapacité du gouvernement d'établir une société de développement des pêches du Nord et de la dépendance chronique de la péninsule à l'égard de projets de travaux publics à court terme, les six associations de développement ont décidé de fonder une société de développement communautaire pour stimuler les entreprises contrôlées localement et favoriser la création d'emplois permanents. En février 1987, la GNPDC était officiellement créée par les six associations de développement,

comme actionnaires égaux, à l'aide d'une subvention de départ du gouvernement provincial.

STRATÉGIE INITIALE

La GNPDC participe de trois façons au processus de développement : en fournissant, moyennant des frais, des services d'aide pour les projets conçus par des habitants de la localité; en menant des activités commerciales conjointement avec le secteur privé; en entreprenant elle-même des projets. La GNPDC peut évaluer des plans commerciaux pour des groupes ou des entrepreneurs locaux et orienter les requérants vers les organismes publics de subvention. Elle encourage les associations avec le secteur privé, comme dans le cas d'une proposition visant à regrouper les propriétaires de petites scieries pour l'approvisionnement de la nouvelle centrale d'énergie de Roddickton, qui utilisera des copeaux de bois comme combustible. Bien qu'elle n'ait pas encore eu suffisamment de temps pour atteindre des résultats concrets, la GNPDC s'efforce également de dépister de nouvelles possibilités et, le cas échéant, de démarrer ses propres entreprises. Elle privilégie toutefois la participation locale, comme elle l'a affirmée dans le cas de la proposition d'un organisme de commercialisation des pétoncles.

PROBLÈMES POTENTIELS

Plusieurs problèmes doivent être résolus dans un proche avenir. Les rivalités entre les habitants de différentes parties de la région sont inévitables, mais la GNPDC doit les atténuer en s'assurant qu'aucune localité n'est négligée. La GNPDC s'efforce d'établir des liens étroits avec des organismes publics de subvention, comme l'Agence de perspectives de l'Atlantique (APA), dont la GNPDC dépend actuellement pour obtenir des fonds d'investissement. Naturellement, l'exécutif préférerait disposer de son propre fonds de capital de risque, mais cette option n'est pas possible à l'heure actuelle. Maintenant qu'elle a des fonds de fonctionnement suffisants et peut élargir son personnel, la GNPDC devra se concentrer davantage sur les communications avec les associations de développement et le grand public si elle désire atteindre son objectif de participation communautaire dans le processus de développement. Enfin, des mesures ont été prises afin d'améliorer les capacités organisationnelles et gestionnelles des membres du conseil et des personnes liées de près aux activités de la GNPDC.

Le développement de la région nécessitera des efforts considérables, mais l'exécutif de la GNPDC fait preuve d'une grande détermination face aux nombreux problèmes auxquels l'organisme est confronté. L'avenir de la GNPDC est incertain, mais la population de la grande péninsule septentrionale n'a aucune autre solution de rechange. Beaucoup d'observateurs suivront de près cette société de développement qui pourrait servir de modèle et qui mérite certainement d'être encouragée.

ABSTRACT

The Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation (GNPDC), formed in 1987, is an imaginative attempt to apply the concept of a community development corporation to the socio-economic problems of a sparsely populated region. This report attempts to explain its emergence and examines its first steps towards development, but does not attempt to provide a full evaluation, it being far too early for one as yet.

THE CONTEXT

The Peninsula contains less than 26,000 inhabitants. Winters are long, summers cool. Fishing is the most important industry. In most respects, the Peninsula is one of the least privileged areas of Newfoundland, which is itself disadvantaged in Canada as a whole. We can point to the usual indicators of marginality such as low incomes, high dependence on welfare and unemployment insurance, a weak labour market, low levels of education, loss of youth who migrate in search of work opportunities, and minimal access to social services.

EARLIER COLLECTIVE ACTION

The people of the area have a history of collective action to improve conditions. Marketing and consumer cooperatives were important by 1920 in the northern part of the Peninsula. Cooperative lobster marketing was widespread in the southern part between 1938 and 1961. The Northern Peninsula is also noted as the birth place of the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union. Moreover, the first rural development association in Newfoundland was formed here in 1967. (There are now six such associations operating on the Peninsula). This range of prior cooperative experience helps explain the formation of the GNPDC.

FORMATION OF THE CORPORATION

Frustrated by the government's failure to establish a Northern Fisheries Development Corporation and by the Peninsula's persistent dependence on "make-work" projects, the six development associations hit upon the model of the community development corporation to promote locally-controlled businesses and permanent jobs. By February 1987, the GNPDC had been formally established with the six development associations as equal shareholders and an initial operating grant from the provincial government.

INITIAL STRATEGY

The Corporation supports three types of involvement in the development process: services provided for a fee to assist locally initiated projects; joint business activities with the private sector; and proactive or Corporation-initiated projects.

The GNPDC may evaluate business plans for local entrepreneurs or groups and direct applicants to government granting agencies. Business partnerships with the private sector are promoted, e.g., the proposal to organize small sawmill owners to supply the new Roddickton power plant, which will burn wood chips. Although there has been little time to achieve concrete results, the GNPDC is also intent on searching out new opportunities and setting up its own businesses if necessary. The preference is for local participation, as in the proposal for a scallop marketing organization.

POTENTIAL PROBLEMS

Several issues must be faced in the near future. Rivalries between people in different parts of the region are inevitable, but the GNPDC must take steps to defuse them by ensuring that no area is neglected. Close links are being established with government granting agencies, like ACOA, on which the GNPDC depends at present for investment funds. Clearly, the executive would prefer to draw on its own venture capital fund, but that is not possible at present. Now that it has adequate operating funds and can hire more staff, the GNPDC will need to devote more attention to communicating back to the development associations and the general public if it is to achieve its goal of community involvement in the process of development. Finally, steps are being taken to improve the organizational and managerial capacities of the board members and those closely associated with the Corporation's activities.

The development task is formidable, but the GNPDC executive is showing much determination to overcome the organization's many problems. The Corporation's future is uncertain, but there is no better alternative on the horizon for the people of the Great Northern Peninsula. It will be watched carefully by others as a potential model for development and certainly deserves initial encouragement.

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FOREWORD

The purpose of the Economic Council's project on Directions for Regional Development was to look at situations in which local communities had assumed more responsibility for their own development, and to see what lessons could be learned from these experiences. Fourteen case studies were undertaken, while a number of Issue Papers examined subjects of general concern to communities and development practitioners. The research was deliberately designed to be different from work typically undertaken by the Council in the past. The primary task was to collect instructive evidence, and to verify it where possible by drawing upon existing evaluation studies. The authors were not expected, for example, to undertake the extensive data collection needed to do cost-benefit studies. Rather, they were asked to capture the diversity of the local development experience in Canada.

The results of the research are being reported in a special collection of Local Development Papers. The first seven releases in the collection are listed at the end of this document. Further papers addressing the problems of single industry towns, urban cores, development indicators and other cases and aspects of local development will be released over the next few months and an overview of the findings from these cases and Issue Papers will be presented in a paper entitled Developing Communities: The Local Development Experience in Canada.

A subsequent phase of the project will analyze the context within which local development initiatives take place and evaluate their actual and potential impact on reducing regional disparities.

This Paper presents one of the 14 case studies produced by the Directions for Regional Development project under the direction of Dal Brodhead.

Geographically, these studies span almost the entire country, from Nanaimo, British Columbia, to St. Anthony's, Newfoundland. The range of initiatives described is almost equally broad; it goes all the way from the establishment of a small credit union designed to provide basic financial services to the residents of a single community to a comprehensive long-term area development initiative involving all three levels of government and designed to achieve a wide variety of socio-economic objectives over a ten-year period. A unique feature of the project was its regional orientation through the use of three regional consultants who played a major role in the development of the case studies and the consultation process. Equally important were the numerous joint research ventures undertaken with a wide range of regionally based partners.

Our work in the first part of the project suggests that programs sensitive to the needs of individual communities, and based on some type of partnership between government and local groups, may make a contribution to economic development in Canada's diverse regions. In particular, our research suggests that communities have an important role to play in identifying development priorities and the particular skill requirements of individuals and local businesses. They also indicate that such "bottom-up" strategies can be assisted by a Local Development Organization (LDO), whose mandate is sufficiently broad and constituency base sufficiently large to enable it to take a long-term development perspective. An important feature of "bottom-up" community development strategies is their focus on community capacity-building aimed at increasing local self-reliance and innovation.

The cases on which we have chosen to focus illustrate a number of the ways in which Canada's communities have mobilized their available human, financial, and material resources to help assure a future for themselves. We believe that these cases will be of value both to community and regional development practitioners and to regional policy-makers at all levels of government.

The author of this paper is Peter Sinclair, Professor of Sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Dr. Sinclair has done extensive work on the demography of Newfoundland outports.

Judith Maxwell
Chairman

INTRODUCTION

The Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation (GNPDC), formed in 1987, is an imaginative attempt to apply the concept of a community development corporation to the socio-economic problems of a sparsely populated region. This report attempts to explain the emergence of the GNPDC and examines its first steps towards development. It should be stressed at the outset, however, that the GNPDC has existed for little more than a year; thus a thorough evaluation of the Corporation's approach to development would be premature. Nevertheless, it is the only initiative of its kind in Newfoundland and possibly in rural Canada. As such, some consideration of the conditions and process that led to its formation should be useful.

Community development corporations[1] have sprung up in numerous urban and rural locations in North America since the mid-1960s. Usually they promote the idea of community-initiated or community-controlled development in declining neighborhoods, although there are cases in which the people of several adjacent rural counties have organized for collective action under the rubric of a community development corporation. Such an organization is typically involved in both planning and implementing projects concerned with expanding employment,

improving public services, providing better utilization of the area's natural resources, and developing local human potential. The "community" referred to is usually made up of the inhabitants of a particular territory; it may or may not imply the more sociological sense of community as a cohesive group with common values. Indeed, some community development corporations try to work with people who initially lack such binding features.

In the United States, community development corporations are involved in wide-ranging activities. Often they are oriented to improving the conditions of particular ethnic groups, including native peoples, Spanish Americans, and southern blacks. They may cover an extensive territory. For example, Impact Seven, in northwestern Wisconsin, serves seven counties, including two Chippewa reservations. Delta Foundation, in 14 counties in southern Mississippi, has succeeded in expanding employment for the poorly-educated and unskilled, while the Southeast Alabama CDC has established forestry and construction companies for the benefit of people in three counties. Job Start, in southeast Kentucky, is controlled by community action agencies in ten counties and has created jobs by establishing joint projects with local entrepreneurs or by forming its own companies (Kelly 1977:28-30, 43). The GNPDC is similar to Job Start in that it encompasses a large rural area and has been established as the cooperative project of several independent rural development associations. In this respect, the GNPDC is unique in Canada.

The analysis begins by describing the forbidding physical environment in which the GNPDC operates. The social context is one of isolation and sparse population. The economic and social structure of the Northern Peninsula are then set out to provide the reader with a reasonable basis for understanding the problems and prospects of development activity. Some of the most important statistical material is presented in the text, but more extensive data may be found in the appendix. Next, attention is given to the surprising range of local initiatives that preceded the GNPDC and then the actual process through which it was formed is described. Having reviewed the organizational structure, the report concludes by considering the GNPDC's initial strategy and future prospects.

To provide background, the study draws on the author's previous research on the Peninsula and on numerous secondary sources on community or regional development. Specifically for this project, interviews have been conducted with the Research Director of the Provincial Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development, the executive director of the GNPDC, members of the board, and officers of the rural development associations. We have also talked with the provincial government's fisheries official for the region, the local newspaper editor, and several businessmen. In all, 35 interviews have been conducted.[2] Statistical data have been collected and documents pertaining to the Corporation have been examined. In addition, records of

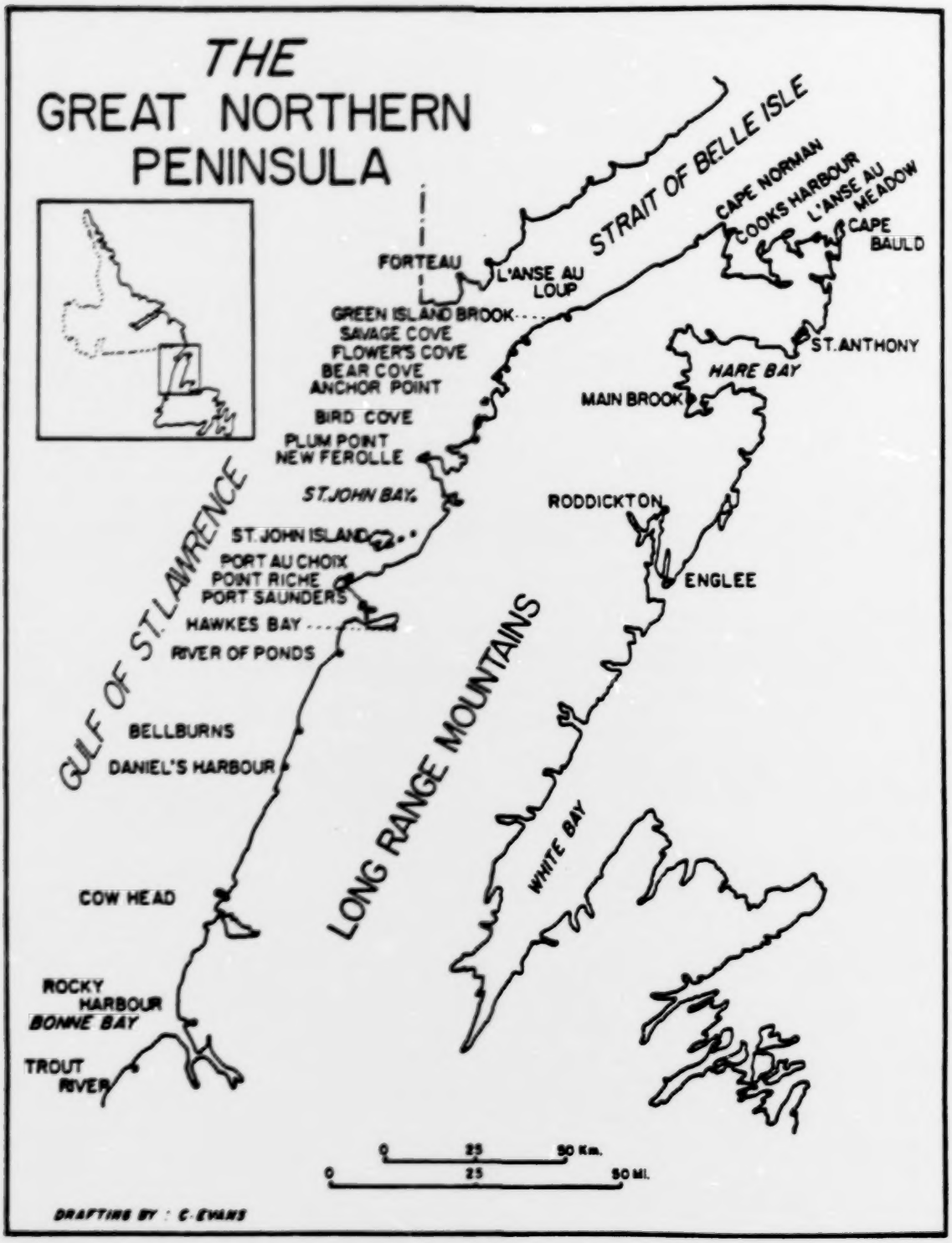
meetings leading up to the formation of the corporation have been consulted.

THE GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA: AN INHOSPITABLE ENVIRONMENT

The Great Northern Peninsula, protruding from the core of the island of Newfoundland, separates the Atlantic Ocean to the east from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the west. Only the narrow Strait of Belle Isle between the tip of the Peninsula and southern Labrador divides the two (see map 1). From Bonne Bay in the south to Cape Bauld in the north, the Peninsula extends roughly 300 kilometers, but this large area contains only 25,802 residents scattered in 63 small communities along the shores, especially on the western side. Even St. Anthony, the largest settlement, contained only 3,162 inhabitants in 1986 (Census of Canada 1986: "Population and Occupied Private Dwellings for Census Divisions and Subdivisions," Table 5).

Topography

The sparse population and persistent problems in maintaining a standard of living satisfactory to the people are due partly to the inhospitable natural environment. Everywhere the landscape is rocky and along much of the Peninsula the Long Range Mountains form a bleak central core. Reaching their maximum elevation of 806 metres at the summit of Gros Morne, which dominates Bonne Bay, the mountains, for the most part, constitute a heavily dissected


THE
GREAT NORTHERN
PENINSULA
STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE
CAPE NORMAN
COOKS HARBOUR
L'ANSE AU MEADOW
CAPE BAULD
FORTEAU
L'ANSE AU LOUP
GREEN ISLAND BROOK
SAVAGE COVE
FLOWERS COVE
BEAR COVE
ANCHOR POINT
BIRD COVE
PLUM POINT
NEW FEROLLE
ST. JOHN BAY
ST. JOHN ISLAND
PORT AU CHOIX
POINT RICHE
PORT SAUNDERS
HAWKES BAY
RIVER OF PONDS
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
BELLBURNS
DANIEL'S HARBOUR
COW HEAD
ROCKY HARBOUR
BONNE BAY
TROUT RIVER
LONG RANGE MOUNTAINS
WHITE BAY
ST. ANTHONY
HARE BAY
MAIN BROOK
RODDICKTON
ENGLEE
0 25 50 Km.
0 25 50 MI.
DRAFTING BY : C. EVANS

plateau at 600 to 700 metres. The consequence is a dramatic, fiord-like landscape at Bonne Bay; however, along much of the west coast, a narrow coastal plain sets the mountains back from the sea. On the east coast, the mountains fall precipitously into the Atlantic. Here one finds few settlements and land communications are poor, although a gravel road now links Roddickton with the main Peninsula highway. On the west coast, north of Plum Point, the mountains fade into a flat, marshy plain with rock outcrops before re-emerging as barren hills on the northern tip of the Peninsula. Over the whole area, heavy glaciation has removed the top soil and depressed the land mass, which is now rising from the Gulf. That is why the western shore is low and rocky with few natural harbours, although, on the positive side, sweeping sandy beaches are found at Western Brook and Shallow Bay.

Climate

The Peninsula's Climate changes significantly from south to north. In the south, temperatures are high enough to sustain mixed forest in low-lying areas, but the far north has a near arctic climate and is swept by strong salty winds that keep the vegetation low, often radically bent away from the wind. This is the land of "forest tundra", a mixture of small black spruce and lichens. The cold Labrador current often causes fog in the northern area and brings pack-ice from the northwest Atlantic to join the shore-fast ice that develops along the west coast of the peninsula. Snowfalls are notoriously heavy during the long

winter, which lasts from November to April, or even early May, when mean temperatures finally exceed the freezing point. The growing season starts four or five weeks later. Summer can be warm and pleasant in the south, but, on the northern tip, the mean temperature does not exceed 10°C in July and fog is all too frequent. In general, the climate is severe, but considerably drier than that of most of the island (Hare 1952).

Settlement

The earliest known inhabitants of the Great Northern Peninsula were Dorset Eskimo and Maritime Archaic Indians who left traces of their life style on the Point Riche Peninsula, now the site of a national historic park. Near Cape Norman, at L'Anse aux Meadows, have been found the remains of a Viking settlement that has been placed around 1000 A.D., but this area was inhabited for only a few years. By the sixteenth century, Basques and Bretons were fishing cod and catching whales from shore stations on the Labrador side of the Strait of Belle Isle.

Although the coast had long been known to Europeans, settlement of the Newfoundland shore was of recent origin, with the first homes being established in the second half of the eighteenth century. From 1763 until 1904, the Peninsula formed part of the "French Shore", an area reserved for exclusive use (but not settlement) by French fishers.[3] Only occasional Newfoundland or English settlers, who were tolerated because they did not

interfere with French interests or who were useful to the French as guardians of equipment left over the winter, were permitted. Thus Port au Choix, the major fishing port, contained only 72 inhabitants in 1891, near the end of the French fishery. By 1911, there were 10,481 inhabitants on the whole Peninsula, by 1945, its population had increased to 18,254. (Census of Newfoundland 1921 vol. 1: viii; 1945, vol. 1:1).

Resources

Because of its short growing season and poor soils, the Great Northern Peninsula offers little hope for anything more than garden agriculture. The forests from Daniel's Harbour to Hawke's Bay, around Main Brook, and between Hare Bay and Pistolet Bay have supported a significant timber industry, although the pulpwood has been carried south to Corner Brook for processing in a pattern typical of underdeveloped regions. The old rocks of the Long Range Mountains may contain valuable minerals and some petroleum deposits have been found near Parson's Pond, but only zinc, mined at Daniel's Harbour by Teck Corporation of Vancouver, has actually been extracted, and that mine's future is now uncertain.

The ocean provides by far the most important natural resources to the region. The east coast is visited in summer by important Atlantic cod stocks and commercial concentrations of crab have been discovered in recent years. Cod is the most important groundfish in the northern Gulf of St. Lawrence, but redfish,

turbot, plaice, halibut and witch[4] are also landed. Redfish were of great importance until catches declined in the 1970s due to overfishing. Herring and salmon are fished and lobster are trapped along the southern part of the Gulf coast. Lobster have been important since the late nineteenth century, whereas the shrimp fishery dates only from 1970. Iceland scallops are harvested west and north of Anchor Point in the Strait of Belle Isle. Sealing, now of reduced commercial importance, takes place in early spring when the pack ice moves in from Labrador. The fisheries have given rise to a fish-processing industry, which is the only type of manufacturing in the region.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

What are the major socio-economic problems affecting the Great Northern Peninsula? We can point to the usual indicators of marginality, such as low incomes, high dependence on welfare and unemployment insurance, a weak labour market, low levels of education, loss of youth who migrate in search of work opportunities, and minimal access to social services. In most respects, the Peninsula is one of the least privileged areas of Newfoundland, which is itself disadvantaged in Canada as a whole. At the same time, it should be stressed that indicators of marginality vary greatly from community to community, even within the Peninsula. For many relevant factors, only the 1981 census data are available, but they are generally an accurate description

of the context in which the GNPDC emerged. The situation cannot be radically different today.

Population Changes

Between 1976 and 1981, the Peninsula's population grew by 3.1 per cent and between 1981 and 1986 by another 0.3 per cent, to 25,802. This modest total increase was obtained as a result of an excess of births over deaths that was sufficient to counter the deficit due to migration. Even in the first five-year period, net migration amounted to a loss of 3.1 per cent of the total population; this loss increased to 5.2 per cent in the most recent period. There are important variations within the region. A few places are in serious decline, e.g. the southern villages of Sally's Cove and Glenburnie near Bonne Bay, and the physically isolated east coast fishing village of Great Harbour Deep, not far south of Englee. A few have expanded quickly, notably Port Saunders, where growth amounted to 18.5 per cent between 1976 and 1986. Yet, even there, net out-migration occurred in the early 1980s. In general, population growth slowed down and migration increased in the 1980s, which is an indication that the resolution of development problems has become even more urgent, especially as migrants are typically among the younger, better-educated members of the community.[5]

Another point worth making is that net migration data do not provide an accurate picture of the total flow of people into and

out of communities. As an example, Bide Arm's net migration from 1976-81 was 2.0 per cent, or an addition of six persons to the population; yet this image of stability would be totally misleading, as 65 people moved into Bide Arm while 59 left. Forty per cent of the village's population was migratory in a period of only five years. This was one of the highest percentages on the Peninsula, but only in a few places did less than 20 per cent move (see appendix). Clearly, the Northern Peninsula's population (and probably rural Newfoundland as a whole) is highly mobile. We suspect that this mobility is related to employment opportunities, although no data are available on the motivation of these migrants. Incomers in many of the smaller places are likely to be return migrants discouraged by their reception elsewhere. Again, data are unavailable.

Incomes

Compared with Newfoundland as a whole, in 1981, the median personal income was 16.0 per cent lower for men and 3.9 per cent lower for women; and median family income was 93.3 per cent of the Newfoundland median.[6] Median personal incomes were low in 1981 -- $9,141 for men and $4,672 for women (51.1 per cent of the male figure). For women, the range by community was from $2,317 in Main Brook to $7,314 in St. Anthony. Male incomes were lowest in Cow Head ($6,599) and highest in prosperous Anchor Point ($23,199). Anchor Point, a small dragger port where visitors remark on the "mansions", is by far the best-off community, with a

median household income of $31,499 (perhaps the highest in all Newfoundland); yet seven communities had median household incomes under $15,000. Mean household size varied from 3.2 to 5.7 persons but with no clear link to income. Some of the communities with low household incomes have relatively large households and thus their living conditions must be particularly depressed (Table 1).

A useful indicator of economic dependency is employment income as a share of total income. For the Northern Peninsula in 1983, this share was only 54.1 per cent, the lowest of any census division in Newfoundland. In contrast, employment income was 92.3 per cent of total income on the Avalon Peninsula (Ross 1986:7). Looking at median employment income for 1983, we find that the Northern Peninsula was only 30 per cent of the Canadian median, again the worst showing by any Newfoundland region (ibid.:6).

Unemployment

The Census unemployment rate for the Peninsula in 1981 was 20.5 per cent for men and 24.9 per cent for women, considerably above the Newfoundland average and about three times the Canadian average (see appendix). About 30 per cent of those under 25 years old were unemployed at that time. In the more prosperous fishing communities, the harbours in which the dragger fleet is located, unemployment was much lower for men, although not necessarily for women. At Port au Choix, the location of FPI's large fish plant, the rate of female unemployment was only 4.2 per cent. For men,

TABLE 1: NORTHERN PENINSULA, POPULATION AND INCOME, 1981

	Pop.	Households	Av. per house	Pop. 15+	Median HH income	Med. Inc.(M)	Med. Inc.(F)
Division 9	25,738	6,010	4.2	17,435	$17,837	$ 9,141	$ 4,672
Anchor Point	368	95	3.9	175	31,499	23,199	5,999
Bellburns	147	40	3.9	85	na	na	na
Bide Arm	339	60	5.4	160	17,079	8,499	4,930
Bird Cove	400	70	5.5	245	21,124	7,499	?
Conche	464	110	4.2	340	17,166	8,812	4,070
Cook's Hbr.	388	90	4.2	325	20,845	12,599	4,231
Cow Head	695	175	3.9	500	11,499	6,599	4,324
Daniel's Hbr.	614	155	3.9	355	22,678	18,863	5,649
Englee	998	235	4.2	650	18,832	9,404	4,782
Flower's Cove	459	120	3.8	270	24,721	15,199	4,928
Glenburnie	422	125	3.4	345	11,624	8,462	4,042
Goose Cove E.	368	70	5.4	225	20,599	9,675	4,374
Gt. Hbr. Deep	278	65	4.0	195	15,249	8,232	4,129
Hawke's Bay	553	130	4.1	400	18,734	10,424	4,957
Main Brook	514	120	4.1	355	9,711	6,819	2,317
Norris Pt.	1,033	245	4.2	645	14,249	9,317	4,910
Parsons Pond	605	140	4.3	480	21,099	7,232	3,532
Port au Choix	1,311	290	4.5	785	22,087	13,626	6,090
Port Saunders	769	190	4.0	615	24,374	12,424	5,779
Raleigh	373	85	4.4	240	17,421	10,681	4,349
River of Ponds	304	65	4.5	190	15,899	11,416	4,062
Rocky Harbour	1,273	320	3.9	810	16,044	8,294	4,391
Roddickton	1,142	265	4.3	745	15,999	9,249	4,161
Sally's Cove	100	25	4.3	80	na	na	na
Sandy C.,St. B.	290	70	4.1	225	16,199	7,332	5,146
St. Anthony	3,107	790	3.8	2,110	22,199	12,213	7,314
St. Lunaire	1,010	210	4.7	665	18,649	8,519	4,820
St. Paul's	454	85	5.4	340	13,943	6,968	2,541
Trout River	759	170	4.3	545	13,734	7,307	3,461
Woody Point	482	145	3.2	290	8,582	7,087	4,604
Division 9A	53	15	3.3	60	na	na	na
Division 9C	3,581	790	4.5	2,605	16,930	7,634	4,596
Division 9D	1,434	310	4.6	940	17,593	8,080	5,032
Division 9F	337	55	5.7	215	22,299	8,299	4,499
Division 9G	99	25	3.7	85	na	na	na
Division 9H	237	55	4.5	140	na	na	na

Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. E 559 for col.1-3; cat. 93-x-937)

the range went from 3.6 per cent in Port Saunders, a fishing and service centre, to a distressing 61.5 per cent in Main Brook, once a logging centre, on Hare Bay. Main Brook was also the worst place for female unemployment (see appendix). The point here is to caution the reader that high variability in unemployment is found within an area that overall was depressed.[7]

A more recent indicator of living conditions is the number of unemployment insurance (UI) claimants in the week of 26 July, 1986. At this time, at the peak of summer activity, the percentage of the population claiming UI benefits, at the community level, ranged from 14.2 per cent to 40.1 per cent, compared with the Newfoundland average of 14.8 per cent.[8] Since about 40 per cent of the population is under 18 years, there were many communities in which half or more of the labour force were UI recipients.

Education

Whether advanced formal education is a cause or a consequence of economic development remains a subject of dispute. Probably a general answer is impossible. In advanced industrial societies, however, it is clear that people who lack functional literacy are at a serious disadvantage with respect to occupational choice, dealing with bureaucracies, and so on. In Canada, this level of literacy has been considered roughly equivalent to grade nine of public education. The educational level of the population of the

Great Northern Peninsula has long been appalling relative to Canada and even to Newfoundland. In 1951, 16.1 per cent of the non-school population over five years old had never attended school. Only 12 per cent had more than 8 years of education, compared with 26.2 per cent in Newfoundland and 43.6 per cent in Canada (Census of Canada 1951). Thirty years later, the situation had improved but was still serious. The 1981 census reported that 51 per cent of the population 15 years and over had achieved at least a grade 9 level of schooling compared with 66.7 per cent in the whole province and 77.8 per cent in Canada (calculated from data in Statistics Canada 1983; 1984).

Occupational Structure

A potential barrier to the development of the Northern Peninsula is the heavy bias of the region's occupational structure, in comparison to the province as a whole, towards primary production (particularly, fisheries) for men and towards manual work (primarily fish processing) for women. There is also a relative lack of managerial, professional, and other white-collar jobs in this area (see table 2 and the more detailed tables in the appendix). Had the comparison been made with Canada as a whole, or with Ontario, the occupational structure of the Peninsula would have appeared even more exceptional. Insofar as development involves reducing inequality of occupational opportunities across regions, major changes will have to occur if the Northern Peninsula is to have any chance of retaining its

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE, 1981

Major Occupational Groups	Males		Females		Total	
	GNP	NFLD	GNP	NFLD	GNP	NFLD
Managerial, professional & technical	12.6	18.5	17.4	24.8	14.4	20.8
Clerical & Sales	6.9	12.4	26.5	41.7	14.4	23.1
Services	4.7	7.7	15.4	18.0	8.9	11.5
Manual	33.8	39.3	35.2	12.4	34.3	29.6
Primary	34.3	14.1	2.2	1.1	21.9	9.3
Other	7.7	7.9	3.3	2.0	6.0	5.8

Source Census of Canada, 1981.

more ambitious, talented, and upwardly mobile people -- those most apt to leave in search of better opportunities elsewhere.

The Fishing Industry

The range of resources around the Peninsula's coasts has already been indicated. What is most striking about the fisheries of the area is the variety of gear types and the inequalities of income associated with them. Whereas the percentage of fishers working on larger vessels (over 45 feet long) and possessing licenses that permit them to trawl for shrimp and/or cod is small compared with the total in the region, (see Table 3) they catch about half the value of fish landed and enjoy incomes up to ten times those of open boat fishers.[9] The latter use traps and gill nets (occasionally long lines and jiggers) to harvest lobster, salmon, cod, and other species from small harbours spread all along the coast. In a more difficult position are longliner* operators who lack licenses for mobile gear. With their higher costs, they have experienced operating losses in recent years. These three groups of fishers have been engaged in frequent disputes about access to fish resources in recent years.

Fish processing is concentrated in the large Fishery Products International plants at Port au Choix and St. Anthony, but 28

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* Longliners are fishing craft which use lines sometimes several kilometers long with many baited hooks for deep-sea fishing.

TABLE 3: FISHERS, LICENCES AND VESSELS, 1985

NORTHERN PENINSULA

No. of full-time fishers	2,279
No. of part-time fishers	2,409
Total	4,688

Lobster licences	647
Crab licences	3
Salmon licences	443
Scallop licences	92
Shrimp trawl licences	38
Groundfish trawl licences	91

Vessel Size

0-19 ft.	672
20-24 ft.	841
25-34 ft.	592
35-44 ft.	92
45-54 ft.	72
55-64 ft.	49
65-99 ft.	2

Source: Department of Fisheries and Oceans

other plants were also operating in 1985. Many private companies manage plants leased from local communities or the provincial government. Most of the smaller plants fillet fresh fish, but several prepare salt cod, and a crab plant was recently opened at Roddickton. Only four plants have freezer capacity; six have at least some cold storage facility. Lack of freezer capacity is a major impediment to product development in the Peninsula industry. That the industry does have potential is evident in the large amount of unprocessed fish trucked out of the area during recent summers (Simms 1987: 17-23).

HISTORY OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY

The situation described above is in some ways unique, but it does reflect a general pattern of low incomes, high dependency on the welfare state, inferior educational performance, and restricted occupational opportunities that we expect, by definition, in marginal or depressed regions. Although a sense of deprivation is probably widespread in such areas, innovative, locally-initiated action to correct that situation on a regional level is rare. In Newfoundland, only the Northern Peninsula has established a community development corporation. In order to understand why this has happened, it is necessary to consider the history of the region -- in particular, the recognition of isolation and a series of measures to deal with problems collectively. These attempts have included cooperatives, a fishermen's union, and development associations.

Cooperatives

In the past, marketing and consumer cooperatives were important in the Northern Peninsula economy. These cooperatives were founded and maintained to reduce the dependence of local people on private merchants, whether as marketers of fish or suppliers of consumer goods. Cooperatives, however, were not promoted initially by local fishers, few of whom could have had the necessary education to undertake such an enterprise, with its need for both organizational and business skills.

In the northern part of the Peninsula, Sir Wilfrid Grenfell, the famous founder of the medical centre at St. Anthony, also promoted cooperatives to improve the standard of living of the people. The first, dating from 1905, was a consumers' cooperative at Red Bay in southern Labrador. Soon afterwards, similar cooperatives were established near St. Anthony and at Flower's Cove (Grenfell 1941:162-5). These efforts led to a number of salmon producers' cooperatives, salt fish marketing cooperatives and consumers' cooperatives. Thus, in the 1920s and 1930s, fishers from Brig Bay and Flower's Cove collectively marketed their salt cod and herring (Snowden 1965:29). By 1952, the Flowers Cove cooperative had 250 members in 13 communities and was marketing lightly salted cod as well as providing consumer goods (Canada 1953:6).

Beginning in 1944, salmon was marketed for eight communities through the Grenfell Cooperative. Evidence from 1950 showed that this practice was beneficial to fishers in that they received 28 cents per pound through the cooperative compared with 13.5 cents from private merchants (Proskie 1951:37). Similarly, where fishers marketed their own cod livers, returns were greater (ibid.:43). However, Snowden (1965:30-1) reported that poor communication with members and the suspicion of corrupt practices led to the collapse of the cooperatives and their replacement by private buyers. Similarly, in Port au Choix, a 21-member cooperative which supplied fishing gear and groceries collapsed in 1950 when a registered letter containing $1,564 in cheques was lost. No record was kept of the individual depositors and the scarce money could not be replaced (Newfoundland Fisheries Development Committee 1954). Thus, mismanagement and distrust brought failure. In Port au Choix, bad experiences with this consumers' cooperative and with lobster pools contributed to great suspicion of cooperation as late as 1982 when I conducted research there.

The lobster pools were the most extensive form of cooperative marketing on the northwest coast. The initiative in this case lay with the Commission of Government, which appointed a field worker, trained at the St. Francis Xavier cooperative centre, to help local people organize. Beginning in the south, in 1937, the cooperatives quickly spread north where the largest pool was located on St. John Island. Lobster pools were established under

the guidance of a fishers' committee, which hired a manager. When fishers delivered their catches to the pools, the marketing agent would then weigh, cull, and arrange carriage of the live lobster to Boston, where all sales were handled by the Consolidated Lobster Company. By 1940, 1,200 fishers were involved in the pools and they received better returns than ever before (Snowden 1965:33). The lobster pools suffered extensive losses in transit, but provided an essential marketing service until the early 1960s.

By 1961, the end was in sight because the opening of the Great Northern Peninsula highway permitted transportation of the lobster by road and brought private buyers into the area. The result was that the cooperatives began to lose business, with the exception of the United Maritime Fishermen (based in New Brunswick), which moved into the area in 1961 and maintained its presence as a major buyer until it went into receivership in 1988. The UMF was able to survive for as long as it did in the area by paying a guaranteed price on delivery.

Union Organization

The second type of collective action attempted on the Peninsula is union organization. The Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union, which became a major force in the province's economic and political life, was actually founded on the remote Great Northern Peninsula.[10] By the late sixties, the traditional open boat fisheries had been abandoned by the more innovative

fishers in the Port au Choix area. Their gill net longliners, however, did not provide a comfortable living in conditions dominated by low fish prices and competition from deep-sea trawlers, which were still permitted in Gulf waters.

In 1968, Port au Choix skippers organized a boycott against Fishery Products' plant in protest over low prices. The next year, prices remained low, gear was often ripped up by draggers, and fish had to be dumped for lack of a buyer. The parish priest, Father Des McGrath, tried to promote a cooperative solution, but the fishers favoured a union and won McGrath over to their point of view. By April 1970, with Richard Cashin now involved in the planning, the founding meeting of the Northern Fishermen's Union took place; within a year it had become part of the new provincial union. Since these early days of organization, the union has negotiated with plant owners on behalf of both fishers and plant workers. In 1974 and again in 1980, long bitter strikes took place. There is no need here to review the details of union action; it is enough to note that the union is an important instance of local collective action, albeit largely defensive rather than development-oriented.[11]

Rural Development Associations

A third and more pertinent type of activity is that of the rural development associations. The Northern Regional Development Association (NRDA) was active in the late sixties and its sphere

of operation covered the entire Peninsula. Indeed, this organization, formed in June 1967, was the first rural development association in the province. It acted largely as a lobbying group in support of a wide range of local development issues (MUN Extension 1968). Together with similar groups that emerged on Fogo Island and the Eastport Peninsula, it provided a stimulus towards a provincial network of rural development associations that were supported from the early 1970s by the federal-provincial ARDA agreements and by similar arrangements in later years (Johnstone 1980).

In order to be eligible for provincial funding, the rural development associations must become incorporated and must represent communities in their region through election of their executives. They receive an administration grant and can apply to a development fund for project grants that usually provide short-term jobs. Six such associations have been formed on the Great Northern Peninsula -- White Bay North, White Bay Central, Straits, St. Barbe, Central, and Bonne Bay. These associations replaced the NRDA, which was dissolved.

FORMATION OF THE CORPORATION

After the NRDA's dissolution, there was no longer any organization concerned with the region as a whole. Yet there was a sense of regional identity born of isolation and common problems. This led to efforts by the new associations to discuss

common interests by meeting as a "northern zone" group four times a year. These meetings began in February 1982. Early topics included concern over lack of sufficient fish processing licenses, non-use of certain licenses by processors, trucking out fish to other areas of the province, inadequate ice-making facilities, and under-exploitation of certain species (Minutes of Northern Zone Meetings).

In this situation, what sparked the formation of the GNPDC was the failure of the federal government to act on the recommendation of the Kirby Task Force (Canada 1983) that a special programme be established to meet the needs of fishing communities north of latitude 50°. In this zone, which includes most of the Northern Peninsula, Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec, the special problems were thought to require joint action by the provincial and federal governments. The Task Force favoured expanding the scope of the existing Canadian Saltfish Corporation* "as the 'designated instrument' for fisheries, economic, social and community development" although it was not to have a monopoly in the area (Canada 1983:254). Task force members preferred this answer to the establishment of a new, fisheries-related northern development corporation, which was thought to be a slower and more bureaucratic solution.

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* A federal Crown Corporation created in the early 1970's to provide coordinated marketing for saltfish producers on the lower North Shore of Quebec and in Newfoundland and Labrador.

The Northern Fisheries Development Corporation (NFDC) was first discussed by the Northern Zone group on September 14, 1984. At that meeting, representatives of the federal government, the provincial government, Memorial University's Extension Service, and Fishery Products International were present. Ray Andrews, deputy minister of fisheries for Newfoundland, reported that no progress had been made so far in forming the NFDC. He suggested that the development associations should sponsor a seminar and get involvement from the Labrador associations. This idea was taken up by the group. Each development association held local area meetings to gather opinions and find out what issues were important to local people; but the conference, planned for February 1985, never took place because the federal and provincial politicians concerned with fisheries would not come, despite the apparent interest shown to a delegation of fishers, who went to Ottawa in April 1985.[12] The Province of Newfoundland and Labrador expressed general support but refused to accept an NFDC controlled by the Canadian Saltfish Corporation on whose board Newfoundland and Labrador had only one representative. Apparently, the federal government would consider nothing else and the whole concept died.[13] Shortly after taking over the federal fisheries portfolio, Tom Siddon claimed that "there has been no movement to set up an NFDC at this time because of a shortage of funds" and that he had too little time to meet with the Northern Zone group in the near future.[14] And so serious discussion of the NFDC came to an end.

When it became obvious that no government action was going to take place, regional activists regrouped. Almost all our interviewees referred to their frustration with the inadequate "make work" projects administered by the development associations. To take one example:

> The development associations's funds and expertise were limited; we were handed make work projects. We put time into long-term planning, but this was not coming about. Therefore, the associations decided that instead of being a social or service oriented group, we should become a business oriented group.[15]

Consequently, as one association coordinator put it, "we took it upon ourselves to do something for ourselves." The task was to create permanent jobs based on the region's resources.

With development of the NFDC apparently stalled, in May 1985 the Northern Zone group requested Memorial University's Extension Service to organize a seminar on community development corporations and other ways of organizing economic development. In December 1985, regional development consultant Mr. E.T. Jackson served as a resource person on these topics. Thereafter the concept of a community development corporation took precedence over the NFDC, but fisheries were always recognized as vital to any prospects for the region. Thus, in the winter of 1986, a proposal was prepared for submission to the Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development (RAND: Government of

Newfoundland and Labrador) in order to obtain funds for a study of the fisheries (Northern Zone Development Association, Minutes, 8 March, 1986). This plan was supported by RAND.

In 1986, people in the rural development associations were encouraged by the support for local initiatives contained in the report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (Newfoundland and Labrador 1986). Fresh from his work as a senior researcher on that commission, David Simms was hired to evaluate the potential of fisheries-related development on the Northern Peninsula. His report went beyond the economic and technical possibilities to propose a strategy for local ownership and control. In particular, Simms (1987) proposed a community-owned development corporation as the best solution. It should be stressed, however, that this solution emerged from his discussion with development association leaders in the area, who had become convinced that some kind of regional development corporation was essential to resolve longstanding problems in the fishery.

While Simms was preparing his report, possible models of community development strategy were discussed. Sixteen people, representing five of the six development associations, went to Cape Breton in October 1986 to meet the staff of New Dawn, an example of the genre. Also included in this group were Dave Simms, two members of RAND and two Memorial University Extension workers. As a result, it was decided to broaden the mandate of Simms' report to encompass consideration of a regional

organizational structure modelled on community development corporations. In this connection, RAND also funded New Dawn Enterprises' founder Greg MacLeod and regional development scholar Stewart Perry to act as consultants in forming such a corporation. After MacLeod's visit early in December and the completion of Simms' (1987) report, commitment to the idea of a community development corporation was apparent among development association leaders (**Northern Pen**, 9 December, 1986).

New Dawn provided a good example of what people could do, but its activities and organization were influenced by its location in industrial Cape Breton, where it had become involved in such activities as the provision of low-cost housing. The people from the Northern Peninsula wanted a regional organization suited to a remote area and concerned with integration of development, especially resource development. Whereas New Dawn's board was composed of academics and other professionals, the new corporation for the Northern Peninsula was to be rooted in the community through its dependence on the six development associations. According to Simms this ensured it was "democratically rooted" because there would be community determination of the board (personal interview). In practice, the proportion of the various communities who take part in development association activities or are knowledgeable about them is probably small -- in large measure because most of the communities' residents are poorly educated and not accustomed to taking part in formal organizations.

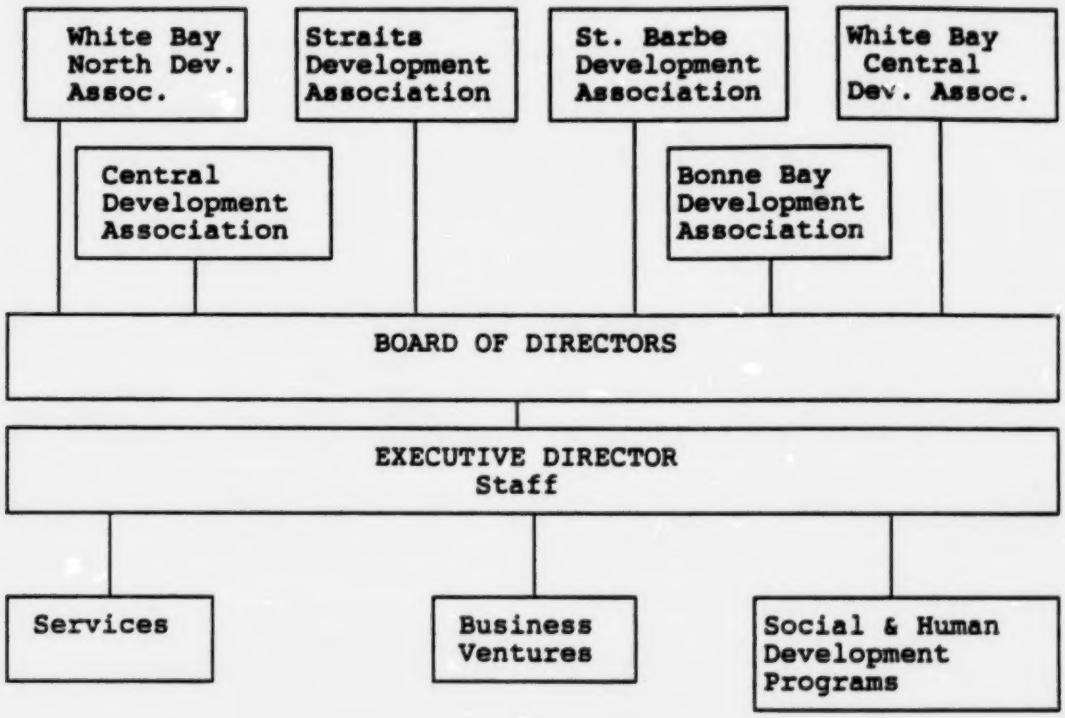
By January 1987, MacLeod and Simms, taking into account certain objections to an earlier draft, had prepared a structure for the proposed regional development corporation based on the six rural development associations. The initial proposal would not have required that board members also be members of the development associations and would have permitted invited board members to form a majority (Northern Development Association, Minutes, 16-17 January, 1987).

In February 1987, the decision was made to go ahead with the Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation. Its structure is illustrated in Figure 1. Each association elects one member to the board of directors for a three-year term. Five outside directors should eventually be appointed, but only two of these appointments had been made by June 1988. The board selects its own chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer at the annual meeting; it also appoints the hired staff, including the executive director, who is not a member of the board. The six rural development associations may replace their board member at any time if at least two-thirds of the board of the member association passes such a resolution.

Once it was formally established, the new organization hired David Simms, experienced in social research and committed to the objectives of the group, as its executive director (GNPDC Minutes, 25 February, 1987). Initial financial support came from

Figure 1:

Organizational Structure of the Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation



RAND, which committed $60,000 over two years - about half the budget in its Planning and Evaluation Program. By November 1987, the Corporation had succeeded in obtaining $613,000 over three years from the federal government's Innovations Program, one of the components of the Canadian Jobs Strategy. This has provided adequate operating funds to employ additional staff: an administrative assistant, a business development officer, and a marine biologist who specializes in aquaculture.

Because the GNPDC is owned by the rural development associations, it is worth considering at this point what is known about the people who control them. The executive members of the associations are unlike the picture of leaders that one finds in the social movements and community development literature.[16] They are <u>not</u> primarily middle class, relatively well off and well educated. Of this group, which is 72.4 per cent male, a majority (56.6 per cent) had neither graduated from high school nor received any post-secondary training. Only 15.8 per cent held managerial or professional jobs. The largest occupational group was fishers (38.2 per cent), followed by fish plant workers (13.2 per cent). At the time of the survey, more than half were unemployed and 75 per cent had collected unemployment insurance at some time during the previous year. 80.3 per cent reported annual personal incomes under $20,000. This is not an affluent group, but it does reflect the state of the area. Many executive members are thus personally aware of the problems that low income earners experience. The members are active in local

organizations, with 77.6 per cent having at least one other affiliation. More than half are also convinced that development associations are important and influential in improving local conditions. Regarding some possible development strategies, most (77.7 per cent) believe that credit unions will get local support, but only 54 per cent expect cooperatives to work (see Table 4). The lower support for production or marketing cooperatives probably reflects the distrust that has lingered since the failure of earlier examples, as was previously noted.

INITIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The Corporation supports three types of involvement in the development process: services provided for a fee to assist locally initiated projects; joint business activities with the private sector; and proactive or Corporation-initiated projects. A majority of those interviewed support all of these activities, but many did caution that the Corporation should avoid starting businesses that might conflict with local private enterprise. Only two people interviewed opposed the proactive strategy.

Fee for Service Projects

As the Corporation's expertise becomes known, people hoping to make local investments may approach the Corporation for advice that requires careful evaluation of their proposal. The Corporation will provide the necessary research and advice on a

TABLE 4: ATTITUDES OF EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF THE NORTHERN PENINSULA DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS

(Percentages)

Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. There aren't enough young people involved in our dev. association	21.1	67.1	6.6	5.3	0
2. Our dev. assoc. has a lot of influence over what gov't does in this area	3.9	59.2	14.5	21.1	1.3
3. When it comes to really imp. matters our dev. assoc. has very little say about what decisions get made	3.9	26.3	3.9	57.9	7.9
4. If our dev. assoc. was given the chance it could do a lot more to improve conditions the area	26.3	63.2	3.9	6.6	0
5. Co-operatives would not work well in our area	0	14.5	31.6	47.4	6.6
6. If a credit union opened in this area it would get a lot of support from local people	13.2	60.5	14.5	11.8	0

Source: Research and Analysis Division, RAND, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

commercial basis. For example, it has conducted a survey of resources and development potential from Cow Head to Hawke's Bay for the Central Development Association. The Corporation is unable to provide free services of this nature, but because the director is aware of government programmes, communities are assisted in getting funds for the services they require. An example might be the businessman from Cooks Harbour who wanted to obtain a study of the feasibility of operating a small motel unit. The Corporation directed him to the provincial Department of Tourism, which has a programme to cover 50 per cent of such costs.

Joint Projects

Accepting the local cultural preference for private business (rather than cooperatives, for example) and the preponderance of private business in the local economy, the executive director believes that the Corporation must work with the private sector or fail to achieve its objectives. This attitude is widely shared by other board members and by active members of the rural development associations. Partnership arrangements are therefore sought where possible. Recently the board decided that 51 per cent of such partnerships should be owned by the Corporation. Following this policy, the board refused a one-third share in a privately-owned fish plant because this would have left the Corporation unable to shape that venture as might be desired.

The Corporation's most important joint venture, however, is a development crucial to its future -- the Roddickton Wood Chip proposal. At Roddickton, Newfoundland Hydro is building a $26 million plant which will require 50,000 tons of wood chips per year as fuel. The task of providing the supply of wood chips will be contracted out, but the only way for the local community to take advantage of this opportunity through the small, existing saw-milling enterprises is to integrate their production. The alternative source of supply would have to be a large contractor from outside the region. To avoid this possibility, the GNPDC worked with the sawmillers to form a consortium, prepare a contract bid, and win the necessary financial support from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). The sawmillers have recently (1989) obtained the contract after difficult and protracted negotiations, and the woodchip consortium is to start delivering chips to the Roddickton plant later this year. The award of this contract to the consortium represents for the GNPDC a concrete achievement that should help boost its public image and facilitate other projects.

Proactive Development

The third mode is proactive identification of business opportunities, which will be promoted through Corporation-owned companies. The Corporation's approach is described by Simms as "very proactive" regarding policy and the pursuit of development opportunities. It does not limit itself to responding to local

requests, but actively searches for strategies that might work. At the same time, the value attached to local participation requires that "each opportunity has to be shaped in terms of what the community wants." The fisheries development proposals prepared by Simms (1987) might be considered a proactive framework, but as yet there are few results. Several respondents pointed to the apparent lack of results as a problem, but most recognize that there has been little time to put plans into effect. At present (June 1988), further study of marketing and processing opportunities is about to begin with the aid of $42,000 from the Provincial Department of Fisheries.

One initiative that actually came from the local community is consistent with the GNPDC's strategy and shows the importance attached by the Corporation's board to local participation. Scallop fishers in the Strait of Belle Isle have become exasperated with casual, unreliable buyers; in particular, such buyers cannot be counted on to buy when the market is weak. These fishers have come to the Corporation with a proposal. They own a building in Flowers Cove and would like the Corporation to determine if it can be operated successfully as a plant. They are considering a small scale operation devoted basically to landing, shucking, and marketing scallop.[17] Initially, the fishers wanted the Corporation to run the business, but the Corporation prefers to promote local involvement and thus proposed joint ownership and operation. This would ensure that fishers would feel part of the business and would sell to it. In this instance, the corporation

has actually insisted on more local involvement than the scallop fishers desired. The project has not advanced beyond the discussion stage.

At present (June 1988), the executive director wisely identifies the wood chip contract as the key project. His second priority is the identification of concrete opportunities in the fishing industry. The third is the possibility of an enterprise that would provide student housing during the college year (to fill a need for St. Anthony's Community College students) and tourist accommodation during the summer. Another important priority is participation by the GNPDC in the development of mussel farming.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Internal Conflict

In the formation of the Corporation and the initial period of operation there has been no serious problem based on the fact that the region contains many different communities and covers a large geographic area, but some tension is evident. Although there is a sense of regional identity, competition for scarce resources (ranging from government funds and services to fish quotas and licenses) and other forms of rivalry also persist.

We did detect some concern that the greatest attention was being given to the northern part of the Peninsula. The Corporation's leadership is aware of this potentially damaging perception and will have to evolve policy to deal with it. For example, if the Corporation is successful in its business ventures, it may wish to take profits earned in one part of the region and invest in the development of another. Whether this can or should be done on the basis of a strict business judgement will have to be worked out by the Corporation, bearing in mind the need to establish both public legitimacy and a successful business image.

Relationship to Government Organizations

Particularly until it has established successful operations that can provide investment funds and security for loans, the Corporation must depend on maintaining a favorable relationship with various government departments or agencies that provide support for the kind of projects in which it is interested. ACOA is particularly critical to the Corporation in its early years because this federal agency has become the key source of state aid for small business development in the Atlantic provinces. Any serious gap between the philosophy or strategy of the Corporation and what ACOA wants to support will put great pressure on the GNPDC to adjust to the government position. This is not to imply that such a problem exists, only that it is potentially a constraint on what the GNPDC can achieve.

Another problem area identified by one board member is the relationship to municipal governments. Town councilors may feel that the GNPDC and the development associations are engaging in activities that should properly lie in their sphere. Consequently, the board members felt that communications with the municipalities should be improved as the GNPDC would need to work together with them. The following comment by a town official concerns the wood chip proposal and illustrates the problem:

> With very little contact the town council feels that the corporation does not have the knowledge of the area. They have assumed the air of a multinational corporation, but they don't have the expertise and staff.

This person felt that the GNPDC was making policy without properly consulting the people involved. Whatever the validity of such an assertion, the GNPDC will have to take action to overcome such negative views at the municipal level.

Participation and Communication

Linked to the above is the general problem of participation and communication. The GNPDC's board and executive director state their commitment to local involvement and the provision of adequate information about the Corporation's activities. There is no reason to doubt that commitment, but at least one representative of three development associations felt that they were inadequately informed and that their associations had no real

influence on the GNPDC's policies. The most alienated individual went so far as to state that "we even considered pulling our member out of the corporation and we are still considering that as far as I am concerned." Yet, other critics acknowledged that they had made too little effort to obtain the information and that the desire for the GNPDC to succeed is widespread.

The values which all claim to share were well expressed by one respondent:

> People have to feel that they are a part of it. They want to contribute to it and they want to see it succeed. Without the support of the community, it may be difficult to get a venture off the ground. The corporation cannot be looked upon as another company. It has to be looked upon as our company. We are doing something; not they are doing something.

This person added that the GNPDC needs more community-oriented publicity in each area of the Peninsula. Another individual, only recently a member of his rural development association, felt that most people did not know what the Corporation was or what it was doing. "People think the Development Corporation and the St. Barbe Development Association are the same."[18] Now that the GNPDC has more staff and has no immediate problem of survival, more attention should be directed to this problem area.

A feeling of involvement is difficult to achieve when the public can only influence policy indirectly through the development associations. The annual general meeting is an

occasion when development association members are brought together and receive information about the Corporation's activities. They do not, however, vote on the reports of the officials or take part in the election of officers. In this structure, effective involvement can only be maintained if the Corporation is able to communicate effectively and if the board members provide their respective associations with full reports and the opportunity to discuss policies before they are implemented. It is noteworthy that the five association coordinators who regularly observe board meetings feel well informed and are supportive of the Corporation.

Involvement is important in another sense. It is notable that no woman sits on the board of directors. Although nobody we interviewed (six were women) raised this as an issue, greater involvement of women is desirable. This is no guarantee that attention will be directed to problems such as the limited occupational opportunities for women, the relatively low pay that employed women receive, or the need for day-care services should women become employed. But women might be more sensitive to these issues and the controlling positions in the Corporation should not be the exclusive preserve of men if this is a people's organization.

Establishing a Secure Financial Base

Just to survive as an organization was a struggle for the Corporation in its first year. It has now received three years of funding from the federal government's "innovations" programme, but this source does not provide investment capital. The key to early participation (apart from projects that are labour-intensive, such as the Wood Chip consortium) is support from ACOA. When ACOA was first set up, the Corporation approached it to provide a single grant of venture capital, which would permit the Corporation to pursue its proactive policy. This application was not successful, but the Corporation was encouraged to submit proposals for specific projects. If successful, the proposals would be eligible for a 60 per cent grant plus a loan guarantee for the remainder. In time, this would still allow the Corporation to create its own investment capability, but it leaves early projects dependent on ACOA approval. As well, the director and other board members stress that the GNPDC must succeed as a business, and have therefore obtained funds to hire professional consultants - a "hard core economic group" - to identify opportunities and to hire a properly trained business manager.

CONCLUSION

In such a large, isolated and sparsely populated region, the GNPDC has a most difficult task in promoting employment provided by locally controlled enterprises. It can take hope from the

excellent marine resources of the region, from the initial positive attitude of state agencies, and from the commitment and sense of purpose of the founding members. It is a matter of concern, however, that the base of local leadership is rather shallow. We have seen that most development association executives are not well-educated. Lack of education does not mean an inability to reason, but it does make it harder to communicate with educated business and government leaders and perhaps limits knowledge of alternatives. Consequently, organizational and managerial training should soon become a priority for all involved in operating the Corporation and its associated businesses. Initial steps have been taken with respect to the board and development association members, who will take part in a workshop in June to which outside resource persons have been invited. In future, it may be possible to bring more educational programmes into the area through Memorial University's extension service, the Marine Institute, and the development of the Community College in St. Anthony.

The goal of local control to promote local interests will only be achieved if rural development association leaders can mobilize popular involvement within their own organizations. Paradoxically, successful mobilization might increase problems of internal conflict if more ideas are brought forward than can be evaluated and if demands for immediate action in local areas exceed the capacity of the GNPDC to satisfy them. The difficulty

of promoting involvement without raising expectations to an impossible level will require constant monitoring.

Most important, the GNPDC's projects have to survive in a competitive, capitalist economic environment which they cannot control or change.[19] I am impressed with the effort and organizational skill that has gone into the wood chip project, and expert advice should soon be available on the development of the fisheries and tourism. It is important to have one early achievement and, in the long run, profits must be made in other activities as well. In this connection, the Corporation might do well to evaluate its majority ownership requirement after a few years to ensure that it is promoting profitability.

The task is formidable, but there are success stories elsewhere and there is much determination to overcome problems on the part of the GNPDC executive. The future of this organization remains unclear, but there is no better alternative on the horizon for the people of the Great Northern Peninsula. It will be watched carefully by others as a potential model for development and certainly deserves initial encouragement.

NOTES

1. Stewart Perry (1987) provides a recent overview of the theory and practice of community development corporations. Valuable for its comparative treatment of New Dawn in Cape Breton is Greg MacLeod's (1986) short monograph.

2. These interviews were conducted in May and early June by Tony Leamon. In addition both he and I attended the annual general meeting on May 28, 1988, where we obtained considerable information more informally.

3. I have opted to use the gender neutral term "fisher", an old word that is now becoming quite widely adopted in academic circles.

4. These are groundfish species, i.e., fish that generally swim near the sea bed. Witch is a type of flounder.

5. This generalization is based on the migration literature. E.g., Grindstaff (1986:446-7) summarizes recent Canadian data noting that "Migration is concentrated among young adults aged 20 to 34. Over 70 percent of those people, both men and women, migrated between 1976 and 1981... the higher the education, the more likely one is to be mobile, and this undoubtedly is related to more and diverse occupational

opportunities." No detailed local study of migration has yet been completed, but it is my impression that these generalizations will hold for the Northern Peninsula.

6. Slightly more recent data show that median total income and median employment income ($7,707 and $4,170 respectively) were lowest in the Northern Peninsula in comparison with other parts of the province (Ross 1986:75-7).

7. Unemployment data by census region for 1984 also place the Northern Peninsula in the worst position with 30.0 per cent of the population in receipt of benefits. Of this group, 41.2 per cent received fishing benefits (Ross 1986:26-8).

8. Unemployment Insurance Commission, Claimant Statistics, week of July 26, 1986 (VP80BB-VB8040).

9. For a detailed analysis of the fishing industry on the west coast of the Peninsula, see Sinclair (1985).

10. For a more detailed account see Sinclair (1985) and Inglis (1985).

11. It is true that the union has supported a fishermen's credit union in recent years and that it played a major part in setting up the union shrimp fishing company, which rents out its northern, deep-sea, shrimp licence and runs salmon

marketing and fish processing plants in southern Labrador.

12. Barb Boyd, coordinator Northern Zone group, to Hon. E. Neilson, Acting Minister of Fisheries, 24-10-85. (Records of GNPDC). Cliff Doyle, a university graduate, dragger skipper, president of St. Barbe Development Association and executive member of the Newfoundland Fishermen Food and Allied Workers Union, presented a brief that set out the concerns of people in the area and their need for the NFDC. See Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Forestry, 30 April, 1985. (Mr. Doyle now operates a small fish plant.)

13. Press release by Tom Rideout, Minster of Fisheries, May 2, 1985. However, Cliff Doyle's report of a meeting with Mr. Rideout in November suggested that the province was not prepared to press the issue with the federal government and was unwilling to let the delegation know what the province had recently written to the federal government. "Report from Meeting with Minister of Fisheries, Hon. Tom Rideout on November 6, 1985 in St. John's" (Records of GNPDC).

14. Hon. Tom Siddon to Ms. Barbara Boyd, 11 December, 1985. (Records of GNPDC)

15. Although this statement suggests an abandonment of social service goals, most respondents perceived a division of labour with the corporation acting as the "business arm" of the associations, which would continue with their other activities

16. I gratefully acknowledge that the following information on executive members has been provided by the Research and Analysis Division, Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. In the winter of 1987, 76 executive members of the associations (all except White Bay Central) were interviewed by telephone. The interpretation is, of course, my responsibility

17. Should another proposal to establish a central freezing facility for small fish processors materialize, it would make sense to use it for scallops as well.

18. The GNPDC shares office space in the same building as the St. Barbe Rural Development Association.

19. In Berndt's (1977) review of why so many urban CDCs failed in the U.S., this was a critical factor.

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APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE A1: NORTHERN PENINSULA POPULATION STATISTICS

Settlements	Population			Net Change		Net Change %	
	1976	1981	1986	1976-81	1981-86	1976-81	1981-86
Anchor Point	329	368	386	39	18	11.85	4.89
Bellburns	148	147	137	-1	-10	-0.68	-6.80
Bide Arm	305	339	340	34	1	11.15	0.29
Bird Cove	395	400	392	5	-8	1.27	-2.00
Conche	431	464	405	33	-59	7.66	-12.72
Cooke's Hbr	326	388	389	62	1	19.02	0.26
Cow Head	650	695	702	45	7	6.92	1.01
Daniel's Hbr	579	614	563	35	-51	6.04	-8.31
Englee	989	998	1,008	9	10	0.91	1.00
Flower's Cove	436	459	414	23	-45	5.28	-9.80
Glenburnie	447	422	366	-25	-56	-5.59	-13.27
Goose Cove	339	368	371	29	3	8.55	0.82
Great Hbr Deep	303	278	244	-25	-34	-8.25	-12.23
Hawke's Bay	489	553	545	64	-8	13.09	-1.45
Main Brook	551	514	524	-37	10	-6.72	1.95
Norris Point	1,065	1,033	1,006	-32	-27	-3.00	-2.61
Parson's Pond	544	605	587	61	-18	11.21	-2.98
Port au Choix	1,141	1,311	1,285	170	-26	14.90	-1.98
Port Saunders	691	769	819	78	50	11.29	6.50
Raleigh	333	373	389	40	16	12.01	4.29
River of Ponds	290	304	322	14	18	4.83	5.92
Rocky Hbr	1,267	1,273	1,261	6	-12	0.47	-0.94
Roddickton	1,234	1,142	1,213	-92	71	-7.46	6.22
Sally's Cove	188	100	57	-88	-43	-46.81	-43.00
Sandy Cove	281	290	NA	9	NA	3.20	NA
St. Anthony	2,987	3,107	3,162	120	55	4.02	1.77
St. Lunaire-Griquet	921	1,010	1,002	89	-8	9.66	-0.79
St. Paul's	456	454	496	-2	42	-0.44	9.25
Trout River	784	759	763	-25	4	-3.19	0.53
Woody Point	529	482	441	-47	-41	-8.88	-8.51
Division 9	24,967	25,738	25,802	771	64	3.09	0.25

TABLE A2: NORTHERN PENINSULA MIGRATION STATISTICS

Settlements	Population			Net Migration		Net Migration %	
	1976	1981	1986	1976-81	1981-86	1976-81	1981-86
Anchor Point	329	368	386	28	5	8.51	1.36
Bellburns	148	147	137	-10	-11	-6.76	-7.48
Bide Arm	305	339	340	6	-15	1.97	-4.42
Bird Cove	395	400	392	-13	-38	-3.29	-9.50
Conche	431	464	405	15	-78	3.48	-16.81
Cooke's Hbr	326	388	389	38	-24	11.66	-6.19
Cow Head	650	695	702	-5	-21	-0.77	-3.02
Daniel's Hbr	579	614	563	11	-90	1.90	-14.66
Englee	989	998	1,008	-44	-34	-4.45	-3.41
Flower's Cove	436	459	414	8	-64	1.83	-13.94
Glenburnie	447	422	366	NA	-57	ERR	-13.51
Goose Cove	339	368	371	29	4	8.55	1.09
Great Harbour Deep	303	278	244	-37	-36	-12.21	-12.95
Hawke's Bay	489	553	545	36	-32	7.36	-5.79
Main Brook	551	514	524	-66	-8	-11.98	-1.56
Norris Point	1,065	1,033	1,006	-98	-73	-9.20	-7.07
Parson's Pond	544	605	587	18	-48	3.31	-7.93
Port au Choix	1,141	1,311	1,285	77	-104	6.75	-7.93
Port Saunders	691	769	819	20	-29	2.89	-3.77
Raleigh	333	373	389	24	-24	7.21	-6.43
River of Ponds	290	304	322	-7	-6	-2.41	-1.97
Rocky Hbr	1,267	1,273	1,261	-71	-70	-5.60	-5.50
Roddickton	1,234	1,142	1,213	-6	6	-0.49	0.53
Sally's Cove	188	100	57	-87	-44	-46.28	-44.00
Sandy Cove	281	290	NA	-5	NA	-1.78	ERR
St. Anthony	2,987	3,107	3,162	-46	-110	-1.54	-3.54
St. Lunaire-Griquet	921	1,010	1,002	15	-80	1.63	-7.92
St. Paul's	456	454	496	-57	5	-12.50	1.10
Trout River	784	759	763	-62	-52	-7.91	-6.85
Woody Point	529	482	441	-61	-49	-11.53	-10.17
						ERR	ERR
Division 9	24,967	25,738	25,802	-781	-1330	-3.13	-5.17

TABLE A3: NORTHERN PENINSULA POPULATION STATISTICS

Settlements	In-Migration 1976-81	Out-Migration 1976-81	Net Migration 1976-81
Anchor Point	40	12	28
Bellburns	25	17	8
Bide Arm	65	59	6
Bird Cove	40	53	-13
Conche	60	45	15
Cooke's Hbr	50	12	38
Cow Head	85	90	-5
Daniel's Hbr	120	109	11
Englee	100	166	-66
Flower's Cove	75	67	8
Glenburnie	45	NA	NA
Goose Cove	50	21	29
Great Harbour Deep	15	52	-37
Hawke's Bay	90	54	36
Main Brook	45	111	-66
Norris Point	140	238	-98
Parson's Pond	125	107	18
Port au Choix	225	148	77
Port Saunders	75	55	20
Raleigh	65	41	24
River of Ponds	55	62	-7
Rocky Hbr	155	226	-71
Roddickton	160	166	-6
Sally's Cove	0	0	0
Sandy Cove	5	0	5
St. Anthony	360	314	46
St. Lunaire-Griquet	100	85	15
St. Paul's	95	152	-57
Trout River	90	152	-62
Woody Point	35	96	-61
Division 9	3000	3781	-781

TABLE A4: NORTHERN PENINSULA UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS 1981

Settlements	Male	Female
Anchor Point	5.6	25.0
Bellburns	NA	NA
Bide Arm	50.0	50.0
Bird Cove	18.8	15.8
Conche	29.6	50.0
Cooke's Hbr	26.9	42.9
Cow Head	17.6	41.7
Daniel's Hbr	NA	21.4
Englee	17.0	36.4
Flower's Cove	22.7	10.0
Glenburnie	21.7	21.4
Goose Cove	15.4	NA
Great Harbour Deep	5.9	50.0
Hawke's Bay	14.3	20.8
Main Brook	61.5	61.5
Norris Point	36.2	24.0
Parson's Pond	23.3	46.7
Port au Choix	11.3	4.2
Port Saunders	3.6	20.0
Raleigh	25.0	54.5
River of Ponds	13.3	10.0
Rocky Hbr	20.0	27.0
Roddickton	43.1	20.0
Sally's Cove	25.0	25.0
Sandy Cove	10.5	NA
St. Anthony	12.0	14.1
St. Lunaire-Griquet	30.4	21.9
St. Paul's	52.0	50.0
Trout River	11.6	47.1
Woody Point	33.3	44.1
Division 9	20.5	24.9

TABLE A5: ATTITUDES OF EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF THE NORTHERN PENINSULA DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS (Percentages)

Statements	Responses				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Our region would be a lot worse off if it wasn't for the work of the Regional Dev. Associations	7.9	2.6	44.7	39.5	0
2. There aren't enough young people involved in our dev. association	21.1	67.1	6.6	5.3	0
3. Our dev. assoc. has a lot of influence over what gov't does in this area	3.9	59.2	14.5	21.1	1.3
4. If our dev. assoc. didn't exist most of our projects would probably be sponsored by some other org. in the area	2.6	50	2.6	42.1	2.6
5. Women in our area have at least as much involvement in our dev. assoc. as men	17.1	43.4	2.6	31.6	5.3
6. When it comes to really imp. matters our dev. assoc. has very little say about what decisions get made	3.9	26.3	3.9	57.9	7.9
7. If our dev. assoc. was given the chance it could do a lot more to improve conditions in the area	26.3	63.2	3.9	6.6	0
8. There are some communities in our area that we'll never be able to get involved in our dev. assoc.	0	27.6	7.9	56.6	7.9
9. Our dev. assoc. is probably the most influential org. in the area	18.4	67.1	5.3	7.9	1.3
10. Co-operatives would not work well in our area	0	14.5	31.6	47.4	6.6
11. If a credit union opened in this area it would get a lot of support from local people	13.2	60.5	14.5	11.8	0

Source: Research and Analaysis Divisions, RAND, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

TABLE A6: FISHERIES STATISTICS FOR THE NORTHERN PENINSULA, 1985

	Full-time Fishers	Part-time Fishers	Total Fishers	Vessels <45 ft	Vessels 45 ft	Lobster Licences
Trout River	83	180	98	0	64	-
Woody Pt	20	38	58	32	0	18
Norris Pt	18	70	88	36	0	19
Rocky Hbr	31	74	105	49	0	38
Sally's Cove	25	34	59	28	0	20
St. Pauls	33	37	70	44	0	30
Cow Head	32	66	98	45	1	29
Parsons Pond	40	88	128	66	1	45
Portland Creek	6	16	22	9	0	5
Daniel's Hbr	22	50	72	29	0	16
Bellburns	6	26	32	10	0	8
River of Ponds	23	38	61	40	0	29
Hawke's Bay	4	2	6	5	0	2
Port Saunders	74	84	158	55	8	35
Port aux Choix	144	86	230	78	26	32
Eddie's Cove E	18	16	34	23	0	12
Barr'd Hbr	5	2	7	7	0	5
Castors River	58	21	79	34	2	16
Bartlett's Hbr	43	35	78	35	1	20
New Ferolle	22	15	37	23	1	10
Shoal Cove W	54	31	85	54	0	26
Reefs Hbr	26	13	39	26	0	12
Brid Cove	25	35	60	27	0	14
Brig Bay	13	20	33	17	0	9
Plum Point	9	22	31	13	0	8
Blue Cove	20	15	35	19	0	12
Pond Cove	6	7	13	8	0	5
Forresters Pt	24	43	67	28	0	16
Black Duck C	32	53	85	18	2	10
St. Barbe	4	18	22	9	0	4
Anchore Point	88	78	166	33	16	15
Bear Cove	28	29	57	17	4	6
Flower's Cove	59	90	149	48	6	11
Nameless Cove	10	13	23	10	0	0
Savage Cove	47	58	105	26	6	3
Sandy Cove	31	74	105	28	5	1
Shoal Cove E	5	2	7	4	0	2
Pines Cove	8	47	55	15	0	12
Green Is. Cove	54	61	115	47	0	3
Green Is. Bk	49	79	128	34	4	0
Eddie's Cove E	NA	NA	NA	25	0	NA
Big Brook	14	4	18	12	0	0
Boat Hbr	5	5	10	6	0	0
Wild Bight	7	11	18	11	0	2
Cooks Hbr	99	77	176	88	13	7
Raleigh	56	57	113	51	2	2
Ship Cove	33	30	63	39	0	0
L'anse Aux Meadows	25	16	41	13	0	0
Hay Cove	18	5	23	8	1	0
Straitsview	27	15	42	19	0	0
Noddy Bay	22	9	31	13	0	0
Quirpon	39	23	62	33	0	0
Griquet	68	59	127	75	0	0
St. Lunaire	49	33	82	51	1	0
Gt. Brehat	21	8	29	21	1	0
St. Carolls	19	0	19	10	1	0
St. Anthony Bight	17	6	23	17	0	0
St. Anthony	68	74	142	86	6	0
Goose Cove	65	37	102	61	0	0
Main Brook	32	61	93	49	1	0
ST. Julian's	30	11	41	22	1	0
Croque	27	20	47	32	0	0
Crouse	4	0	4	3	0	0
Conche	93	41	134	1 04	0	0
Englee	82	62	144	88	5	0
Roddickton	7	17	24	12	1	0
Bide Arm	13	15	28	10	1	0
TOTAL	2253	2365	4618	2186	117	633
REGIONAL TOTAL	2279	2409	4688	2197	123	647

Source: Department of Fisheries and Oceans

TABLE A7: OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR FORCE

GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA, 1981

Occupations: Major Groups	Number of Males	% of Male Labour Force	Number of Females	% of Female Labour Force	Total Labour Force	% Of Total Labour Force
Managerial and administrative	280	4.3	130	3.2	410	3.8
Teaching	330	5.0	285	6.9	615	5.8
Medicine and health	60	0.9	270	6.6	330	3.1
Technological, social, religious artistic and related occ	155	2.4	30	0.7	185	1.7
Clerical	215	3.3	705	17.1	920	8.6
Sales	235	3.6	385	9.4	620	5.8
Service	310	4.7	635	15.4	945	8.9
Primary	2240	34.3	90	2.2	2,330	21.9
Processing	815	12.5	1,420	34.5	2,235	21.0
Machining, fabricating, assembling & repairing	280	4.3	30	0.7	310	2.9
Construction & trades	790	12.1	*	-	790	7.4
Transport	320	4.9	*	-	320	3.0
Other	505	7.7	135	3.3	640	6.0
Total	6535	-	4115	-	10,650	-

TABLE A8: OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR FORCE

NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR 1981

Occupations: Major Groups	Number of Males	% of Male Labour Force	Number of Females	% of Female Labour Force	Total Labour Force	% of Total Labour Force
Managerial, administrative	11,240	8.0	3,195	4.0	14,435	6.6
Teaching	5,155	3.7	6,675	8.3	11,830	5.4
Medicine and health	2,200	1.6	7,745	9.7	9,945	4.5
Technological, social, religious artistic and related occ	7,245	5.2	2,210	2.8	9,455	4.3
Clerical	8,015	5.7	24,880	31.1	32,895	15.0
Sales	9,350	6.7	8,465	10.6	17,815	8.1
Service	10,760	7.7	14,430	18.0	25,190	11.5
Primary	19,625	14.1	905	1.1	20,530	9.3
Processing	12,510	9.0	9,305	11.7	21,895	10.0
Machining, fabricating, assembling & repairing	11,885	8.5	535	0.7	12,420	5.7
Construction & trades	19,810	14.1	*	*	19,810	9.0
Transport	10,755	7.7	*	*	10,755	4.9
Other	11,080	7.9	1,585	2.0	12,665	5.8
TOTAL	139,630	-	80,010	-	219,640	-

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PAPERS

Fall 1989 Releases

A Case Study of the Kitsaki Development Corporation, by Michael Decter and Jeffrey Kowall.

Equity Capital and Economic Development in Newfoundland and Labrador, by the Economic Council of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Loan Funds for Small Business: Lessons for Canadian Policy Makers: A Case Study of Colville Investment Corporation, Nanaimo, B.C., by Lloyd Baron and Noel Watson.

The Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation: An Organizational Framework for Revitalization? by Peter Sinclair.

The West Prince Industrial Commission: A Case Study by Wayne MacKinnon with the assistance of Jon Peirce.

Two Perspectives on Regional Development in Atlantic Canada: An Overview and a Case Study of the Human Resources Development Association, by Elizabeth Beale.

Where Credit is Due: A Case Study of the Eagle River Credit Union, by John Wickham, Richard Fuchs, and Janet Miller-Pitt.

Subsequent releases will include papers on the problems of single-industry towns, urban cores, development indicators and other cases and aspects of local development. An overview paper entitled Developing Communities: The Local Development Experience in Canada will present the findings from this phase of the project.